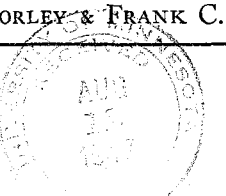
Human Events *A Weekly Analysis for the American Citizen*
Editorial Office 1323 M STREET, WASHINGTON 5, D. C. *Telephone* NATIONAL 2066
VOL. IV, NO. 32, *Issue Number* 184, AUGUST 6, 1947 ★ *Editors:* FELIX MORLEY & FRANK C. HANIGHEN



THE LAST OF THE VICEROYS

by George Catlin

The British Raj in India comes to an end on August 15. A chapter of history which began with Charles II and Clive and Warren Hastings has been finished and a new one begun. Its worldwide significance is emphasized by India's initiative in demanding United Nations' investigation of The Netherlands' policy towards Indonesia, and by Pandit Nehru's simultaneous statement that: "The mere presence of a colonial regime or of foreign troops in any Asian country is an insult and challenge to Asia."

The British administration in India had its virtues. It usually kept civil peace and avoided corruption. But it offended against the principle, enunciated by Campbell-Bannerman, which expressed British Liberalism at its best: "Self-government is better than good government." Primarily under a Congress Party which owed its inception to a Scotsman, Hume, the people of India campaigned for free government and self-government. The Moslem League, created by the ex-Congressman, Mr. Jinnah, had the same object here; but it maintained that there are two Indias -- Hindu and Moslem -- and no basis for a single political entity.

After reforms associated with the names of Morley and Minto, Montagu and Chelmsford, and a wearisome series of compromises, the offer of Dominion status, to be attained at a time unspecified, was made and rejected. In 1944, British sympathizers, including Aneurin Bevin, various M.Ps. and the writer of this article, in a widely circulated manifesto advocated the fixing of a precise date for the termination of the Raj. The Cripps Mission was followed by the Cabinet Mission of Cripps, Pethick Lawrence and Alexander, which went so far as a pledge that Indian independence would be recognized.

Then came exploration to find a satisfactory scheme, alike for Hindus and Moslems, for a central Indian government. The fact that Congress acceptance of the Cabinet formula was only provisional enabled Mr. Jinnah to allege that there was lack of mutual confidence, and to retract his earlier promise. By tougher bargaining he felt that the Moslem Pakistan, which he had once termed a dream, could become a

Copyright 1947 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reality, side by side with an independent Hindustan. The political scene still remained somber. Thousands lost their lives in communal riots and their bodies were picked by the vultures.

II

The political climate underwent an abrupt change with the Attlee announcement that, under any circumstances, the British would leave India in April, 1948; and with the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy. The change was unmistakable if one revisited India in 1947 after having been there in 1946.

The Viceroy was good enough to remark to me that I was one of the few people who had preached optimism on arrival in India. Before I left I found the Viceroy more optimistic than myself, and with reason, except on one point. I continued to hope, as he did, that the unity of all India would be maintained even if only by the slightest of bonds. But I did not suppose that the Indian leaders would accept anything more than the de Valera formula, involving an "internal republic" with the "external use of the King's services."

The British Empire did not slink out of existence ignominiously. The ship sailed with all canvas set and all flags unfurled, amid the good wishes of those on shore. The impossible seemed to have happened (as it may in Palestine if similar tactics are adopted). No sooner had the British administration decided to depart than the British personally became more popular than they had been for decades.

The British decision to depart was proclaimed by the Hindu political boss, the Sardar Patel, as an unexampled act of statemanship. It was Patel who suggested that it would be a convenience if, without waiting until 1948 for independence, India assumed forthwith Dominion status and the Viceroy stepped into the constitutional position of a Governor-General. Mountbatten was quick to take the hint. Already the Hindus were beginning to weaken in opposing Jinnah's schemes for Pakistan. A strong government for a limited "India" seemed better than a mere agency government for All-India.

Much of the change of political climate must be ascribed, not only to the Premier's pledge of a date of withdrawal, but to the personality of the man still known as Lord Louis Mountbatten. In India it is an asset that he is the King's cousin and uncle of the future Queen.

His appointment was a subtle compliment to India and carried a guarantee that India's case and complaints would not be sidetracked in the corridors of Whitehall. But much is due to the man himself, as distinct from his connections. He has tact, approachability, humanity, a receptivity to new ideas coupled with a capacity for quick decision

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and for pulling the lever of action. Many of these qualities his predecessors unfortunately lacked. The impression which he has made on Nehru is of the best. And in his graceful wife he has someone, every inch a Vicereine, who can carry her share of the burden to advantage.

III

British statemanship has done what, despite the gloomy prognostications of Mr. Churchill and the Tories, many of us had always hoped it would do. It has "done a South Africa," as the Liberals did half a century ago. It has thrust full responsibility into the hands of the still arguing Indians. It has left them to consider their national and international responsibilities and their difficulties of personnel in administration. It has left the choice to them. And they have chosen for the moment to retain the Commonwealth connection.

It does not follow that this connection will be maintained. What stands out is that the guarantee to quit India in every political sense has been fulfilled. If the two governments of the Union of India (this seems likely to be the title) and of Pakistan choose to keep the Commonwealth connection or to hire British personnel, it is their affair. The value of the connection will have to be demonstrated.

In one respect plans have already probably gone slightly astray. In the Indian Independence Bill provision was made for one person, if so desired, to be Governor-General of both India and Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten was expected to fill this dual office.

Mr. Jinnah was so pleased with having achieved his dream of Pakistan that he was well satisfied to achieve Dominion status. Gandhi (described to me by Indians as "always the watch dog of British interests" -- although it would surprise many Englishmen to hear this), Nehru and others seemed content to have for the moment a British Governor-General, if this appointment served to preserve, by bonds however tenuous, the union of All-India. The Crown could have its value as a link. Mr. Jinnah's sudden decision to assume the position of Governor-General himself one may suspect upsets a gentlemen's agreement, trumps Gandhi, and for the Hindus destroys some of the value of the Mountbatten appointment. No wonder that Mr. Gandhi still records protest against the division of India.

The fact that the Indians themselves should wish to maintain Lord Mountbatten as the first head of the new independent Union of India must appear little less than a miracle to anyone who recalls the situation of ten years ago. It is a miracle for which Premier Attlee, who has always been keenly instructed in Indian affairs, deserves full credit.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Indeed, the whole achievement is a feather in the cap of the Labour Government, and helps to offset its growing domestic difficulties. As Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek said to your correspondent: "This decision has not only increased British popularity in India but has raised British prestige throughout the whole of the East." Nevertheless, neither the British press nor the British Parliament has risen to the height of the occasion. The press has given less attention to the matter than it merits, perhaps because it gives the lie to gloomy prophecies, or perhaps because readers are more interested in food rations. In Parliament the best, or worst, that can be said is that the whole handling was "typically British." The speech introducing the Indian Independence Bill was made in what was described as "sober tones," and this characterized the whole mood of the debate.

India and Pakistan will now both send and receive Ambassadors. Already the United States has made an admirable appointment in Ambassador Henry F. Grady. But the little color given to the British Parliamentary discussion was by the assertion of Mr. Will Gallagher, one of the two Communist M.Ps., that the new arrangement only left open doors for exploitation by "American greed." From this it is possible to conjecture the new Kremlin line, replacing the old campaign against exploitative "British Imperialism."

It would be inappropriate to write anything on the closing of one great chapter in Indian history, and the opening of another, without a tribute to the Mahatma. Much, very much, in the present solution is due to the personality of "Dick Mountbatten." Much again is due to the principle and pertinacity of the Premier. Britain has washed its hands clean of the main stain of imperialism. Let the Russian reactionaries, with their vast colonial empire and police state, consider it.

But the chief prize must still be given to the odd, infuriating, obstinate, charitable little man, who is India's leader and the world's saint, who despite all the evidence of the "facts" and all the pressure of the "realists" has consistently preached nonviolence. Thereby Gandhi has made an almost bloodless revolution possible.

George Catlin, well-known English political scientist, herewith makes his second contribution to HUMAN EVENTS. On October 11, 1944, more than two and one-half years before enunciation of the "Marshall plan," he argued in these pages that "It would pay America to subsidize Britain . . . and even to lose the whole subsidy." Professor Catlin has just returned to London from an extended visit to India and China.

Reproduction or quotation is permitted only when credit is given to HUMAN EVENTS. Trial subscription, three months for $3. Six months, $5.50. One year, $10. Two years, $18. Domestic airmail (including APO and FPO) and foreign (regular mail) one year $11. Foreign airmail rates on request. Please remit in U.S.A. DOLLARS. Allow two weeks for new subscriptions or change of address to become effective. Address all correspondence to: HUMAN EVENTS, 1323 M Street, WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events VOL. IV, NO. 32

By Frank C. Hanighen August 6, 1947

The British economic crisis -- the causes of which were well described by Felix Morley in the Analyses of April 30 and May 7 -- continues to deepen. Increasing drains on dollars as a result of various circumstances have hastened the process. No attempts, cis-Atlantic or trans-Atlantic, are made to minimize the seriousness of the situation. However, behind the expressions of alarm in London and sympathy in Washington, both British and American governments are doing some cagy maneuvering.

The New York Times editorially pointed out (August 5), "England will not have exhausted her external purchasing power when she has drawn down the last dollar of the proceeds of her American loan. We hear a great deal about the way these dollars are dwindling; we hear little about the gold stocks which Britain has been building up at the same time . . ." The Times estimates that the value of these stocks plus balances remaining of the American and Canadian loans total some $4 billion, at least. That sum should last Britain at least a year. But the Labour Government for its own political reasons overemphasizes the scarcity of dollar holdings, plays down the gold stocks and manages to give the impression that before many months Britain will run out of dollars.

Washington, however, fully cognizant of the real facts of the situation, is inclined to play a waiting game. State Department heads are sympathetic and prepared to help. But they would like to see the Labour Government take determined measures to stem the continuing economic decline. There was some sardonic comment when British mine union leaders said that the miners might work a half-hour more per week. Such a statement hardly sounds heroic when the economic fate of Britain grows more precarious month by month.

Of course, Washington does not presume to interfere in British politics, nor to try to undermine the Socialist program of the British Government. If, in the long run, the British people want Socialism, that is their privilege. But, in the short term, the situation is so critical that the British should suspend further Socalistic measures (the implementation of which would at least temporarily retard recovery) and the British people should work harder, regardless of social gains, to save their country. Such a course would be quite consistent with the spirit of the Marshall proposal which, after all, the British Government was the first to applaud.

* * * * *

France was blocking European recovery -- such was a not uncommon reaction when the French Government last week opposed the raising of the level of German industry. Indeed, a discouraging parallel was seen. It was recalled that France alone of European nations proved refractory when in 1931 President Hoover proposed a moratorium on German war reparations and debts. After much delay, France went along with the measure; but by that time German banks had started closing, the German economy had gone into a sharp decline and the salutary psychological effects of the Hoover proposal had been substantially lost. The resultant German depression led to the triumph of Hitler. Is history repeating itself in the present instance?

Official sources in Washington are inclined to say no. The French Government's attitude is largely political. Its leaders have a lively fear of Germany falling under the dominance of Russia, but their apprehensions do not go beyond that point. Premier Ramadier and Foreign Minister Bidault, it is claimed, privately see no future menace to France from Germany tout seul; sans Russia, Germany can never again loom as the danger it was before World War II. Even if German industry were

Copyright 1947 by Human Events, Inc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

restored to its pre-war status, the German nation and economy has suffered too much from the war and the peace conditions to be a threat to France, by itself.

The fact is that the French political leaders have a real difficulty in trying to handle the anti-German sentiments of the French people (who as yet do not see the German problem in the same perspective as their leaders). The Communists naturally exploit the anti-German sentiment for all it is worth. And when General Clay publicly laid great emphasis on raising the level of industry, much fat fell in a very responsive fire. Naturally, the French Government found it necessary to appear stoutly anti-German, and attacked Clay's proposal.

State Department circles think that Clay should have been more tactful, in view of the French situation. Instead of putting a proposal for a rise of level of industry first in his statement and precautionary controls against revival of German hegemony second, he should have verbally reversed the order. The Clay ideas were right, but they should have been sugared for Gallic consumption.

* * * * *

Enthusiasts for the UN are rejoicing over what they claim was a victory for the international organization when The Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia heeded the Security Council's cease-fire order. Others, more cautious and with bitter recollectons of previous unfounded claims for the effectiveness of UN are inclined to reserve jubilation until the picture becomes clearer and the actions of the Dutch and Indonesian governments can be carefully assessed.

Therefore observers are prudently examining the following considerations: (1) The Dutch before the suspension of hostilities had managed to seize and open all the principal ports hitherto in the hands of the independence forces. This success will presumably release shipments of rubber, oil, etc., badly needed by Holland in its fight for economic survival. Was not this the precious substance of victory? (2) Early during the Dutch offensive it was reported that the Republican forces were carrying on a scorched earth policy, which if successful might well give pause to Netherlands authorities. Rubber trees cannot be replaced overnight. Due to censorship, it has been impossible to ascertain the truth, or if true, the importance of this factor in halting hostilities. (3) Today, the Dutch apparently have a predominant military position, with the Republican armies weakened and divided. Perhaps all that lies in the way of complete victory is guerrilla warfare. (4) A number of different "autonomous" regimes, hostile to the Republicans, have appeared, doubtless with the encouragement of Van Mook. It would seem that the Crown authorities enjoy an improved position to play the old game of "divide and rule."

* * * * *

"Oh, the Reds, a bunch of vulgarians who have never been known to tell the truth," is the way General MacArthur referred to the Russian Government in conversation with a delegation of American publishers and editors recently in Japan. One of the visitors had mentioned a recent Russian accusation that the American authorities had left the principal Japanese industrial families in undiminished power. MacArthur in denying the charge went on to explain that by enforcement of legislation resembling the American Antitrust Act, the Japanese industrialists had been deprived of their monopoly power. The General also talked of what he believed should be the two foundation stones of a sound State: "a feeling for freedom"; and "belief in a divine being." And he thought that these two elements were present in Japan under his rule. The publicists reported that the General seemed to enjoy good health and vigor, although there was some difference of opinion as to whether or not his hand shook -- a symptom which other visitors had reported.

* * * * *

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Despite alarums and excursions abroad, business prospects in America brighten. And economists have begun to discover encouraging aspects in the one field regarded as stubbornly unfavorable -- the building industry. According to a study of Department of Commerce estimates which has come to us from a reliable research organization, the total activity for all types of building in May declined only slightly from the high point attained in the fall of 1946. This total, incidentally, was conspicuously higher than in any pre-war year since 1929. Building in general, says the study, is holding up astonishingly well considering many obstacles.

Public works and public utility construction continues to increase. The curve, with slight seasonal recessions, has been continuously upward since the end of the war. Economists count on this activity as a factor of a sutaining nature in the general buiness picture.

Industrial and commercial construction is much higher than in the peak year of 1929. It should be mentioned, however, that figures in April and May show some decline from levels of the preceding quarter and the latter part of 1946. But monthly figures on this type of construction usually show capricious fluctuations.

Although new residential construction has fallen off since the beginning of the year, the general level remains surprisingly high in view of the steep rise in costs (100 percent higher than pre-war years). Costs are still very high, but have been leveling off since the first of the year and it is believed by some that the peak has been passed. Figures show that more new permanent dwelling units were started in April and May than in the corresponding period last year.

All things considered, the general condition of the building industry is such as to confound prophets of gloom.

* * * * *

Last December during the coal strike crisis, newspapers reported that Mr. Cyrus Eaton, Cleveland banker and industrialist, was seeking to mediate the dispute between the United Mine Workers and the Government. In a recent issue of the University of Chicago Law Review, an article by Mr. Eaton -- entitled "A Capitalist Looks at Labor" -- reveals that he is critical not of the UMW but of the Government. "All that the coal miners had been asking for was an opportunity to discuss their desire for somewhat shorter hours and other small adjustments in their working conditions. But the Government . . . declined to consider any changes as long as the mines continued in Federal possession." Charging that a great barrage of propaganda was launched in the press against the miners, Mr. Eaton remarks: "Thus led to believe that the miners were out to destroy our economy, public opinion worked itself up into a dangerous state of hysteria. The nation was driven from one fit of madness to another by ranting oratory on the radio and by blazing headlines, inflammatory editorials, and brutal cartoons in the press, until civil war would have been inevitable, had it not been for the wisdom and the restraint of the miners' leader. Throughout the entire time, John L. Lewis never uttered a syllable of complaint and never issued a statement criticizing anybody."

The article was written before the Taft-Hartley bill was passed, but what Mr. Eaton says about Labor legislation is all the more pertinent today: "One of our peculiar national traits is a pathetic eagerness to believe that passage of a law will solve any problem we have. Let no business man be naive enough to believe, however, that restrictive legislation will be any more effective in bringing about industrial harmony than the Volstead Act was in discouraging drinking. Let it be recalled that the elaborate law that was passed to strengthen the transportation industry resulted in the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the biggest bureaucracy of them all, which has brought every known woe to the railroads. . . . The only recourse we capitalists have, if we want to preserve our system, is to deal directly with Labor ourselves."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Book Events

The Shaping of the American Tradition, by Louis M. Hacker. New York: Columbia University Press. $7.50

Professor Louis M. Hacker's study of The Shaping of the American Tradition, prepared primarily for a course in contemporary civilization in the college of Columbia University, has been reissued in a two-volume trade edition for the general reader. What distinguishes it from the generality of historical textbooks and gives it special value is the inclusion of two hundred and more of the innumerable documents which may fairly be considered source materials concerning one or another aspect of the evolution of American life. These documents have been arranged both chronologically and by subject; that is to say the whole work has been divided according to eleven rather clearly demarcated epochs, and subdivided according to their special intellectual, social, economic, political and diplomatic manifestations. Each major division -- such for example as "Jacksonian Democracy" or "Unrest and Expansion in the 'Nineties" -- is preceded by an elaborate introduction, which in itself affords an excellent general history of the epoch.

There are also brief introductions, either by Professor Hacker himself or by his collaborator, Helene S. Zahler, to the various subdivisions, such as "the American Scene," "the American Mind," and so on; and it is in these sections that the source documents fall naturally into place. Thus, to take an example, the instructions of President Jefferson and Secretary Madison to Robert Livingstone, the American Minister at Paris, in connection with the negotiations for the Louisiana Purchase, are prefaced by a summary of the complicated international situation which made possible that momentous bargain; a sheaf of family letters having to do with the operations of the Underground Railroad for runaway slaves is prefaced by a brief discussion of the relation of the early Nineteenth Century religious revivals to the rise of the Abolition movement.

The virtue of this ingenious arrangement depends of course mainly upon the wisdom and imagination exercised in the selection of the documents. Professor Hacker's choices seem, as far as I am qualified to judge, for the most part admirable, though perhaps somewhat overweighted on the side of economics. Certain significant historical episodes, such as the Indian wars, the methods of the frontiersmen, and the great westward migrations, strike me as having been unduly slighted; but then Professor Hacker is at some pains to discount the influence attributed by such historians as Turner and Parrington to the frontier in determining the American character and destiny and in creating the special quality of American life. He seems to hold that the chief importance of the frontier was in the influence that it had in maintaining a high level of wages in the settled parts of the country, and thereby preventing, or rather delaying the growth of an industrial proletariat. As the work progresses nearer to the present the problem of selection, in the lack of perspective, becomes more difficult and the wisdom of the choices begins to seem more doubtful; and there is, in view of the current news, a certain pathos in discovering that the second volume is concluded with a four page excerpt from Wendell Willkie's One World.

To three epochs of our history Mr. Hacker gives the rather awesome designation of Revolution; and I suppose that if his book had not been finished before the bombing of Hiroshima he might have added a fourth. The first revolution was of course that of 1775-83; the second was the destruction of the slaveholding interest and Radical ascendancy in Congress, which, before it was broken, assured triumph of finance capitalism and transformed the United States from an agrarian to an industrial society. The third and perhaps most tremendous revolution was the New Deal, which transferred political power from its traditional center in the middle class. -- J. M. Lalley

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED